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MARK SUTHERLAND:

ON,

POWER AND PRINCIPLE.

BY EMMA D. E. N. SOUTHWORTH.

CHAPTER XVI.

If any two creatures grew into one,
They should do more than either had done;
The each must work as we work.
Yet even in the world would you seek
For the knowledge and the might
Which, in such union, grew their right.

Bronzing.

Rosalie, my own blessed wife, you spoke the truth, or rather you applied it fully—out of the heart and life issues of life! I feel and recognize it now! It is with far different emotions that I read this deck, that bears us to the Great West, to those which oppressed and discouraged my soul two years ago; when, I went forth, alone, unloved, unloved, now your form hangs upon my arm, not an amazement, but a source of strength and joy! But, oh! Rosalie, how is it—how fit it be with you? Can you in the wild West as you love your sunny South?

A westward this state of empire wends its way? Who can look upon the shores of this great river, and note the many thriving new villages, without joyfully perceiving that the South is a beautiful, a luxuriant region, where, "lapped in Elysium," you may dream your soul away; but the West is a magnificent, vigorous land, whose clarion voices call you to action! The South might be illustrated by beautiful epicureans, like India—like the West by a vigorous young Titon, like—"Who?"

"Who?" asked Sutherland!

"Rosalie!" answered Rosalie, with her eyes sparkling with delight.

They were standing upon the hurricane deck of the steamer Indian Queen, which was sailing and blowing its rapid course down the Ohio river. She was leaning on a sailor of her husband—their heads close, the better to enjoy the freshness of the morning air—they were smiling, and her cheeks glowing with animation, and her sunny single, blown back, flushed on the breeze.

From their elevated site they commanded a view both shores of the river, and turned their eyes alternately from the North to the South side.

"Does my dear Rosalie perceive any very remarkable difference in the aspect of these opposite shores?" asked Mark, bending his seat upon her.

"Yes! I notice that one shore is thickly studded with thriving villages and flourishing fields, while the other is a comparative wilderness, with here and there a plantation house, and at long intervals a tattered town. What can be the reason of this?"

"There has already surprised the reason? The passing, the impetus of freedom and war, and war on the genius of the—one—the curse, the legacy of slavery, oppressed and impeded the other."

The thoughtful eyes of Rosalie roved slowly over the scene, and then raised and fixed their earnest gaze upon her husband's face, and she said: "It is so! There is only one set of persons in the civilized world who are greater moral sufferers—more pitiable moral victims—than the slaves themselves!"

"And they are?"

"Yes, Rosalie; and it is from among their slaves that the first and greatest reformer of the great evil must arise."

"Do you think so, Mark?"

"From fitness; we are unwilling to be taught our duty by an antagonist who reposes in partial ignorance of the facts, judges harshly and unjustly, and speaks not the truth in loyalty, often as falsehood in hatred and from malice, all great successful reformers—that the world has ever known, have arisen—not from the womb of the earth, but from the bosom of Country and State, and the heart of God; and, by the way, Christ himself came not in clouds of glory, clothed himself with the majesty of God, and from Heaven—he arose from the midst of the people whom he came to save! So, Rosalie, the spirit of liberty to the slave must arise from the slaves themselves!"

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spirit before a fall." If our trading politicians only knew that they were beginning to be regarded by the intelligent masses of the people as mere puppets dancing upon the wires moved by the hand of slavery, they would no longer regard their own origin, development, and progress as so full of much importance. The truth is, our political leaders are teaching us to observe them with our spy-glasses inverted. They look much more natural and life-like in this way; they look very small, they seem to think very small thoughts, and talk very small talk, and their voices sound much like that of an echo. If they were only men, we could embrace them in our humanity once, and try to rid them out of the hand of their oppressors.

O. E. MINER.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JUNE 9, 1853.

The following named gentlemen are authorized agents for the cities of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston:

Lewis J. Bates, 48 Beckman street, New York.
William Thompson, No. 528 Lombard street, Phila.
G. W. Light, No. 3 Cornhill, Boston.

FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

On the 1st June we commenced the publication of FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE, a monthly, designed for preservation as a document for reference, or for general circulation. It will be published at \$1 per volume, especially among those not yet familiar with the Anti-Slavery movement. It will be composed chiefly of articles from the "National Era," adapted particularly to the present.

Each number will contain eight pages, and be printed on good paper, of six pages. Congressional Globe, &c., will be sold at \$1.50.

It will be furnished in the following rates, by the year, twelve numbers constituting a volume:

Six copies to one address - \$1.

One hundred copies to one address - 12.

All payments must be in advance.

P. S. We have lately obtained, and shall publish in successive numbers of this monthly, a series of valuable documents, carefully compiled, containing Proceedings on the Subject of Slavery in the Colonies before the Revolution, and before the adoption of the Federal Constitution; copious Extracts from Elliot's Debates and the Madison Papers; Debates on Slavery in the Federal Congress; View of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and Paine; Two Volumes on Blackstone; Debates on Emancipation in the Virginia Convention, &c.

G. B.

THE ANGLO-SAXON SERF:

A TALE OF THE CENTURY.

BY WILLIAM HENRY HERBERT.

The National Era, which first gave to the world Uncle Tom's Cabin, will commence, in July ensuing, the publication of an original Novel, entitled The Anglo-Saxon Servant. A Tale of the Century. By William Henry Herbert, (Frank Forrester,) one of the most popular authors of the country. It will run through about twenty-six numbers of the Era, or half a volume. For want of time to procure a name, it shall appear under the heading of the "National Era."

AGENTS AND CLUBS.

Agents are entitled to fifty cents each new year subscriber, and twenty-five cents on each renewed subscriber, except in the case of clubs.

A club, or society, of which there may be an old one, at \$5, will entitle the person making it up to a copy of the Era for three months; a club of five, two or three years, to one copy for six months; a club of five or six years, to one old one, at \$15, to a copy for one year. Money to be forwarded by mail, at our risk. Large amounts may be remitted in checks or certificates of deposit. It will be seen that the price of the club is extra, covering dollars a year. Agents sometimes allow a subscriber, whom they obtain or renew, the benefit of their commission, and charge him only \$5, \$4, \$3, or \$2.

TERMS OF THE NATIONAL ERA.

One copy, one year \$2 | Five copies, one year \$8

Three copies, one year \$10 | Ten copies, one year 15

The term to renew the price of the Era, same copies and for clubs, to old or new subscribers. Three, five, or ten old subscribers, for example, will receive a discount of \$1.50, or \$1.75, as the case may be.

Subscriptions for half a year, to the 1st of July to the 31st of December, will be received.

G. BAILEY.

WASHINGTON, June 9, 1853.

FAST AND LOOSE.

Frederick Douglass says that the people of the South are the slave owners, but those of the North are the slave holders; and Professor Stowe, in Glasgow, told his audience that the people of Great Britain are the great slaves. He said, "in this country is the great market for cotton; and it is cotton which sustains American slavery." We certainly need a key to Uncle Tom's Cabin—not an explication of the book known all over the world by that name—but an exposition of the agencies and influences which sustain the system of slavery amongst us. Some say that the institution rests upon a necessity which opinion can neither support nor overturn, which no policy can counteract, and the principles of abstract justice cannot remedy. Some say that the churches are competent to its abolition, and inexorably culpable for its continuance; some, that political policy alone sustains it; and others charge the evil as entirely to the pecuniary interests which are involved in it.

The remedies proposed, and the methods of applying them, are as various.

A key, expository of the system, is much wanted, that the key reformatory may fit the lock of the cabin that holds Uncle Tom.

The South is as much in want of a key as its antagonists—a master-key that will drive the bolt more securely into the socket. The owners have for a long time suffered from a system of pity piling, which is hard to bear, and are now growing apprehensive that a general conspiracy of lawless foreigners is organizing for the perpetration of wholesale burglary upon their premises. The old fastenings are wearing loose, and the difficulty about the new keys proposed for the service is, that they all have the common fault of unlocking as well as locking the bolts. The key wanted is such an one as will lock, but will not turn by any turn that it can possibly take, undo its own work. The warders of Uncle Tom's Cabin are not a little perplexed and alarmed at discerning that every key proposed by their earnest well-wishers is the exact pattern of some one in the bunch that the burglars themselves rely upon. They want, and from the nature of the case must have, an instrument wholly unlike anything that has ever been in use heretofore, and so adapted to its office that the owners can make no mistake with it, and the enemy can make no use of it.

The British cotton trade sustains the American slave trade, is the proposition. The English philanthropists feel the impossibility of shutting up their manufacturers, but they propose to grow their own cotton in Africa, Australia, and India. The London Daily News demonstrates the practicability of the project. Refuse to purchase from the Southern States, and starve the system of slavery to death, is its policy. But the Cotton Plant, of Baltimore, and the Southern agitators generally, propose to devise the means, and set foot the policy of direct trade in the great staple with the continent of Europe, to the exclusion of Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow.

The Cotton Plant:

For many months the Convention to be held first Monday in June, will now be the policy a unopposed success of Direct Trade in all its parts. While Mrs. Stowe is combining England against us, we are combining to crush the power of that hypocritical empire. While the North is agitating to strip us of our rights, we meet in Memphis, quietly, calmly, with the consciousness of right, to draw into the lap of a great Southern and Western confederacy the riches of our trade. The great question to be met is the abolition of slavery. Disguise it as we may, it is the great political, social, and religious idea of the day. It must be met. As Memphis will be met. The oligarchy of America Cotton Plant, have been determined to take their own preserves into their own keeping. The Agricultural Congress at Montgomery, Ala., will ultimately be the nucleus for an organization, terrible in its effects upon England and Northern industry. The continent of Europe will contend successfully for commercial supremacy with England, for not

will decide the question, and the cotton power will go against England."

Thus the non-importation remedy by the British Abolitionists, and the non-exportation of the cotton Oligarchy, propose the same key—the one to lock, the other to unlock the cabin.

At home, Abolition agitation is regarded by the respective adherents as acting for, and reacting against, emancipation. Discussion weakens the system, and will destroy it, says the one; it rivets the chain all the tighter, says the other.

The Compromise legislation of 1850 is held by the South to be a final settler of the great controversy; the North treats it as a provocative and a cause of more vigorous warfare. The Fugitive Slave Law is hailed as the palladium of the besieged citadel; but Mrs. Stowe's Cabin was built, like the wooden horse of the Greeks, to destroy it; and the very walls of the fortress are broken down to admit it.

The Southern planters and merchants, with remarkable unanimity, are preparing through the Convention to be held at Memphis, to inaugurate a new policy of defense for their great interest, which is to be modelled after the system prevailing in the North—that is to say: a system of internal improvements which shall perfect the intercourse, commerce, and transportation of the planting region; diversify its population by introducing immigration of foreign laborers and artisans; advance and improve popular education; and, by every means, endeavor to establish sectional independence of the North, and of Great Britain especially.

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G. B.

This is the key with which they will lock up the slave system in perfect security from all foreign aggression. But the philosophers of the North are just as sure that it will turn the bolts the other way, and that all approximation to the life, order, and economy of the free States will, notwithstanding the slave element intertwined, inevitably bring about substantial similar fortunes to the whole community; and that slavery, under such treatment, must gradually and surely change itself into hired industry.

The ultraism of both sections speaks of a division of the nation as a disastrous stroke of policy for the security of their directly opposite aims.

The religionists agree as perfectly in their respective reliance upon the two edges of the Gospel sword. It cuts both ways in their handling, very marvellously. It teaches submission, non-resistance, fidelity, to the slave, according to the South; but the North believes that the faithful preaching of the Word will open the prison doors to them that are bound.

Even Uncle Tom's Cabin (the book) finds a ready circulation south of Mason and Dixon; and is actually received as a fair and serviceable presentation of the system, by some respectable pro-slavery authorities. League, as an exceptional monster, overdrawn or very rare, doesn't hurt the favorable effect of the amiable St. Clare, and the saintly Uncle Tom; and the colonization drift and conclusion of the work is pat to the purpose of their defense.

So, the problem of slavery turns up a complete paradox in either aspect, in keeping with the intrinsic character of the subject. The opposite demonstrations look both ways, logically enough; the truth is under a veil; progress will develop it, and the future must give the solution. Only let the system move, and it must change: it does move, it must. The Lord reigns; "He makes the wrath of man to restrain;" he makes the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder of wrath he will restrain." It moves: that is enough. To let it move is to let it do its work.

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So, the problem of slavery turns up a complete paradox in either aspect, in keeping with the intrinsic character of the subject. The opposite demonstrations look both ways, logically enough; the truth is under a veil; progress will develop it, and the future must give the solution. Only let the system move, and it must change: it does move, it must. The Lord reigns; "He makes the wrath of man to restrain;" he makes the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder of wrath he will restrain." It moves: that is enough. To let it move is to let it do its work.

That is the key with which they will lock up the slave system in perfect security from all foreign aggression. But the philosophers of the North are just as sure that it will turn the bolts the other way, and that all approximation to the life, order, and economy of the free States will, notwithstanding the slave element intertwined, inevitably bring about substantial similar fortunes to the whole community; and that slavery, under such treatment, must gradually and surely change itself into hired industry.

The ultraism of both sections speaks of a division of the nation as a disastrous stroke of policy for the security of their directly opposite aims.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

For the National Era.
OLYMPUS.

BY HARRIET N. NOYES.

Mount, whose legends dreamy, olden,
Of the mythic time,
In an age long past; yet golden,
Song has made sublime;
Mount of Jove, whence long ago
Swift-winged gods went and fro
Through the sunny vaults below—
Immortal Thesey.

Movements meet from mortal vision
Veiled the Pleasant Land,
As around the Fields Elysian
Cloud-robed spirit stand;
Only to immortal sight
Radiant in Celestial light,
Never waning into night—
Endless perfect day.

Through the mists of mythic story,
Down the ages shine
Broken glimpses of the glory
Of the Mount Divine;
Which above the hills shall rise,
Glorify the earth and skies—
Lost from sight of longing eyes,
In the light of Heaven.

Thither weary soars are tending
With a faith sublime,
Helping angels downward bend
Through the mists of time;
Once their feet the rough way pressed,
Who have entered into rest,
Standing now among the blest,
On the Mount in Heaven.

(Reported for the National Era.)
LECTURE ON MIGRATION.

Applying the Principles of a previous Lecture on the
same subject to the Black race in America.

BY CHARLES REEMLIN.

Delivered April 2d, 1853.

There is—*we know it—an eternal war between freedom and slavery—between intelligence and brute force!* As intelligence rises, the other sinks, and the masters have always been compelled to act upon this maxim, or, upon the *still worse one*, to mislead and to ignorance, to over-education, to dissipate and to corrupt it. Otherwise, the right of property in man is not to be easily escaped from the same dilemma. The existence of slavery here, as it is, depends upon keeping the negro as near to animal functions as possible. Our slaveholders have not yet dared to attempt to clear the chain of real, heart-and-head-improving intelligence, and to land on the shores of that Machiavellian system which prevails in some parts of Europe and Asia, and which is known as the reign of slaves—which “kings the rod that gives them blows.” Our slavery is patriarchal yet; it has not yet become refined. I thank our Southern brethren that they have left to most of the negroes their minds blank, and their hearts still simple.

These considerations will show us why free colored persons are regarded as so very dangerous in the South, and it must be noted that the incident of the Southern difficulties is the cause of a course of action which they must regard as inevitable to their own safety, and by which their slaves remain uneducated, and through which they must be cruel to the free. The laws now proposed in Virginia and other States, including one or two Northern States, for the forcible expulsion of the free blacks, are sad but faithful proofs of the fact that these measures of oppression demand, in every clause and in every age, the same unjust means to preserve its existence, and that free and enlightened America is not to be an exception. Is it not strange, however, kind friends, that before the same Legislature (Illinois) are two propositions flowing from the same strain of thought—one to exclude free blacks, the other to admit them, as slaves, with their masters??

The incident of the Southern difficulties is, I feel, directly, the inherent difficulties of Southern legislation. I state but facts, which I would gladly change if I could, but which stubbornly cross my path, and upon which I must expatriate to redeem those general axioms of migration which the history of the world demonstrates to be correct. It cannot be improper to inquire, with the proper spirit, what caused that have led to the entire development of the negro in our land. I do not deny, on the contrary I assert it as a fact, that much has been done for the negro in the United States, and that he is now a far superior being to what he was when we took him from Africa. It is only in a comparative view that the discrepancy appears, and more the general result of man's migration. The extent of our negroes' education is inferior to ours. The negro is capable of progress, for he has much improved in the three hundred and fifty years he has been with us; and if his improvement does not stand a comparison with us, it will, considering his position, well compare with the improvements of our own race some ten to twelve centuries ago. Nor is it very far-fetched to suppose that the little improvements of the negro have been the result of changes of climate and country have developed other qualities of mind and body, such as he never exhibited at home.

We never give due credit to labor for its toils. Those who accumulated its proceeds claim for themselves always, too, the credit for them. The slave, in fact, is the author of his own misery. His labor is directed and governed by his master. This is said to be the great advantage of our slave system. Under such a system of labor, its products are concentrated by one will, and directed to a common purpose. The individuality of the laborer is almost entirely extinct. Consumption and production are regulated by the master, and not the individual laborer's will. It resembles in some kind of social life, it resembles in some kind of social life, some what socialist writers prescribe to Europe as a panacea for all its social ills. The excellence of their system is said to consist in the general principle that, by its production and consumption may be concentrated and methodized—the first step largely increased, the latter diminished—and that, though such a system may, with a master, have increased comfort, and more time for mental improvement and social enjoyment. They confound directly, from its adoption, the regeneration of Europe.

Slavery is compulsory socialism! It is labor associated by force! It is the be-hive of socialism—exemplified in some of its aspects at least; and surely in the lives the slaves are not made to live. I have seen no evidence of productive, and it has consumed but little. In sixty years, the products of these slave plantations have, in cotton alone, amounted to \$1,711,691,776, exclusive of the large amount consumed here. In 1851, the exports of cotton were \$12,215,317. Beside this, there are millions of tobacco, sugar, corn, etc., etc. Their exports exceed \$100,000,000 per annum. What farms has not been stored? Ellwood Fisher started many people by the example he made of Southern production and consumption, in his lecture, “North and South.” It did not start me. I was prepared for the fallacy that labor associated by force (slavery) and in the matter of dollars, is highly productive. It has been a large source whence immense results a similar system, organized upon voluntary and free principles, would produce, if it could be organized.

The whole matter may be briefly summed up to this: Forced socialism (slavery) can exist only over men in the lowest state of mind—social socialism (Fourierism) can only exist where man occupies the highest scale of moral and intellectual development. The mind is the main necessity in the one who acts—in the latter, mind must have complete mastery over the body. But in both systems we may take it to be an admitted fact, the net proceeds exceed those of our individualized labor system. The Shakers and the Rappists may, in part, be proofs in point.

The defects of the socialist slave-labor system are obviously the almost total absence of the contributions of the master, in labor, to the general stock, and, what is worse, in the luxurious outlays of the master. Were these defects the only ones of the system of slaves, who doubt that the Southern masters would outlive the fabrid wealth of Cremona, and that we Northern men would have but little chance to brag of our superior advancements in

wealth! Even as it is the South tempts with wealth and enjoyment.

Idleness is catching! The slave sees his master idle, and he thinks him happy in his idleness. Freedom means with him, idleness, and his heaven is a place where no taskmaster bids him work. He thinks with Diogenes, that the highest happiness consists in the sun.

“In basking, undressed, in the sun.”

And, perchance to add the significant fact, that the negro's labor is almost all merchandise, and exported. Very little of it stays about home, to multiply upon itself, and to create comforts for man and beast. How different with us! The greater part of our labor remains with us. It embellishes our cities, it creates public improvements, it is a *modestus* property, consisting principally of a *modestus* property, whose sinks into the “immovable.”

Follow, kind friends, this idea out, and it will solve, in its *accumulations*, many a political and social problem. I may not follow it, but such a discussion might lead me into fields which are forbidden fruit here. Much of our accumulated wealth consists in the things which we possess, and which we have bought with short-sighted political economists overlook as value lost. I cannot calculate, in dollars and cents, how much is annually laid up in Ohio, in family comforts; but this I do know, that the *want* of such accumulations creates an air of desolation about Southern farms.

If therefore, the present physical and mental condition of the negro, American seems in any way to be the level of creation, which I have heretofore maintained, it springs from extraneous and superadded causes, and not from natural results.

We Northerners hardly ever approach this subject with the right kind of feelings. We are ever ready with odious comparisons between ourselves and the Southern people; and what is most abominable to me, is the fact that we who most deprecate the wealth of the South, and, through it, the negro's productive ness. Our rapid increase of population, compared with that of the South, as well as the thrifty condition of our homes, are paraded, with a peculiar self-complacency, alongside of commercial and manufacturing statistics, all intended to prove our superiority, and that of the little states, the national, and freer institutions.

Are we not giving ourselves up to a few delusions upon this subject?

The Southern States had, in 1790, a white population of - - - - - 1,132,032

In 1840, they had - - - - - 2,924,137

The New England States had, in 1790 - - - - - 1,792,781

In 1840 - - - - - 2,912,165

This is an increase of white in the South of over 150 per cent, while in New England it does not amount to that rate, and the growth of the Union is due to immigration and emigration. The late census shows that 323,000 of the white population of Virginia, about 26 per cent, have found homes outside of it, and that equal per centage has left Vermont. North Carolina has lost still more; it lost 31 per cent of its native population.

The South has not been behind New England, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, against those of Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina. Georgia was left to most of the negroes their minds blank, and their hearts still simple.

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Northern. At this time, 1816, South Carolina and New York were the two greatest exporting States of the Union. South Carolina exporting more than \$10,000,000, and New York over \$14,000,000.*

According to the assessments made by authority of the Federal Government in 1815 for direct taxes, the value of property in the Southern States had risen to \$859,574,697, the white population being then, according to an average of the census of 1810, and that of 1820, about 2,749,795, or about \$310 per head, or \$85,957,469.40, or \$29,550 per head.

Mr. Wilson said, that, if this amendment should take place, the Southern Colonies would have all the benefit of slaves, whilst the Northern ones would bear the burden. That slaves increase the profits of a State, which is important truth, that he had been casting about in his mind for some expedient that would also increase the burdens of defense, which would of course fall so much the heavier on the Northern Colonies, than on their food, to supply the places of freedom, and eat the food. Diminish your slaves, and freemen will take their places. It is our duty to lay every discouragement on the importation of slaves; but this amendment would give the *ius trivium liberum* to him who would import slaves.

Two kinds of property were pretty much discriminated in the South, as the article of slaves, and cattle, horses, and sheep, in the North as the South, and South as the North—but not so as slaves. That experience has shown that those Colonies have been always able to pay most, which have the most inhabitants, whether they be black or white; and the practice of the Southern Colonies has always been to make every farmer pay toll taxes upon his labor, whether they be black or white. He acknowledged indeed that freemen work the most; but they consume the most also.

They do not produce a greater surplus for taxation. The slave is neither fed nor clothed so expensively as a freeman. Again, white women are exempted from labor generally, which negro women are not. In this, the white women of the South are more fortunate than the negroes, who are not so fortunate.

Mr. Patterson said, that such an amendment encouraged the slave trade; observing that Congress, in their act relating to the change of the eighth article of Confederation, had been ashamed to use the term “slaves,” and had substituted a description—*Page 1055.*

Mr. King had always expected that, as the Southern States are the richest, they would not longer be satisfied with the Northern Colonies, unless they were paid to their superior wealth. If the latter expect those preferential distinctions in commerce, and other advantages which they will derive from the connection, they must not expect to receive them without allowing some advantages in return. Eleven out of thirteen of the States had agreed to consider slaves in the apportionment of taxation and representation ought to go together.

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